

A CANDID and IMPARTIAL

DISCUSSION  
OF THE  
False REASONINGS,  
Gross MISREPRESENTATIONS,  
AND  
Studied FALLACIES,  
OF  
Two late PIECES:

The Former written

To vilify the Inhabitants of One End of THIS  
ISLAND: And the Latter, of the Other.

TOGETHER WITH

A fair and clear Account of the Advantages derived  
to Both Parts of the Nation, by the UNION:

AND

The Consequences of raising false Notions of it,  
Set in their true Light.

---

By a FRIEND of GREAT BRITAIN.

---

*Do Men gather GRAPES from THORNS,  
Or FIGS from THISTLES?*

---

---

L O N D O N:

Printed for M. COOPER, at the Globe, in  
*Pater-noster Row.*

M.DCC.XLVII.

AC 911.1.747. F74

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

540 EAST 58TH STREET

CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

TEL. 773-936-5000

WWW.CHICAGO.EDU

1997

1998

1999

2000

2001

2002

2003

2004

2005

2006

2007

2008

2009

2010

2011

2012

2013

2014

2015

2016

---

---

CANDID and IMPARTIAL

## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

**T**HERE are few Maxims, with respect either to good Sense or good Manners, more general in their Nature, or less to be dispensed with in Practice, than those which relate to the avoiding National Reflections. There cannot certainly be any thing more barbarous, than to reproach a Man with what it was not in his Power to avoid; and at the same time, such Reflections fall not so much upon him, as upon his Maker. These kind of Affronts are generally borne with less Patience, because there is no Virtue more clear, or more admired,

B

mired,

mired, than *the Love of one's Country*; and in proportion as this Virtue prevails, a Man must be more apt to take Fire when he hears his Country insulted. It is therefore no Wonder, that the Paper in *Old England*, of *December 27th 1646*. should be extremely resented by those who are born beyond the *Tweed*, and consequently find themselves injured by it. I think it rather a greater Wonder, that it was not properly resented, I mean, by a legal Application for Redress; for it is, most certainly, a violent Attack upon the Constitution, and is calculated for some of the worst Purposes in the World, at the same time that no good Purpose can be served by it.

There was an Attempt of the same kind made by a very witty Divine, a little after the Union; and upon a  
Complaint

Complaint to the House of Peers, a proper Resentment was shewn, tho' from the Partiality of the Tory Ministry, the Author was screen'd from any other Punishment, than that of being declared a public Incendiary, by the most august Assembly in the Nation. There is the greater Reason, that Performances of this kind should meet with a legal Chastisement, because they are commonly attended with Reprisals; and thus the Peace of the Public is sacrificed, and a Multitude of dangerous Consequences follow from the lawless Gratification of the implacable Resentment of a few inconsiderable and inconsiderate Persons. Besides all this, one of the greatest Privileges we have to boast, that of the Liberty of the Press, comes to be in Danger by such Proceedings; and if ever an artful and designing Mi-



nistry should incline to deprive the People of *Great Britain* of a Privilege which has so often stood them in the greatest stead, I know no Method so practicable, as this, for attaining such a Purpose : And therefore, before any more Ink is spilt in this Dispute, I thought it might not be amiss to give the Writers on both Sides fair Warning of what may follow from their Altercations.

The Author of the Letter signed *Aretine*, which has given Occasion to so much Noise, does not seem to know very well, either what he would be at, or what he is doing. He discharges his Anger upon the *Scots*, in the Words of Mr. *John Cleveland*, a Satyrist of known Rage and Fury ; but the Reason he is so angry with them, is their Attachment to the abdicated Family of *Stuarts*. Now if  
he

he had consider'd, that Mr. *Cleveland* was a very high Royalist in the Time of King *Charles I.* ; was Judge-Advocate in the Garison of *Newark* ; and fell a Prisoner into the Hands of the *Scots*, against whom his Spleen was levelled, because they were not so much attached to their natural Prince, as he ; this Writer would have seen, that *Cleveland's* Reproaches are not at all to his Purpose ; and that he did not offer greater Injury to the Nation he vilifies, than Violence to the Poet whose Verses he employs : Neither is this Observation made from a pure Spirit of Criticism, but from a just Regard to the Subject. For if *Cleveland* was in the right in abusing the *Scots* then, the *Scots*, in changing their Conduct, can be no longer Objects of his Abuse ; and if, notwithstanding their Change of Conduct,

they are still to be abused, it is very visible, that, independent of their Behaviour, they will be always liable to such Reproaches, whenever People are so much out of Humour, as not to distinguish the Folly of adopting other Mens ill Language, and applying it to their own Use. He is as much beside his Purpose in the Expedient he proposes, which is in plain *English*, driving the Inhabitants of *North Britain* to Despair, and putting them under the Necessity of acting that Part for which he condemns them.

It may appear strange, but upon a very little Reflection it will be found true, that while this Writer imagines he is abusing and scourging the *Scots*, he is really apologizing for them; and says more in Excuse for their Rebellion, than they ever had Wit enough (and yet I think they were



were never taken for Fools) to say for themselves : For he plainly supposes, that notwithstanding all the Stipulations in the Act of Union, the most solemn Compact that ever was, or can, be between Nations, there ought to have been a steady Resolution taken by the Inhabitants of *South Britain*, to defeat the Engagements contracted by that Treaty: Let them, says he, have the Benefit of Traffick with us ; Let all the Posts of Preferment be filled by their Natives, so they keep beyond the *Tweed* ; for I see no Occasion we have for them in the several Sciences, and gainful Professions here. You see no Occasion for them, Sir ! But who are you ? The best and wisest Ministry in our Remembrance saw sufficient Occasion, or they had not made the Union ; for the People of *Scotland* had all, or

more

more than you would allow them, before: And to say, that after the Union they ought not to enjoy the Privileges stipulated by the Union, is treating the People of *North Britain* ill, but the People of *South Britain* worse; and is such a scandalous Reflection upon the Parliament of *Great Britain*, as never appeared in Print, till upon this Occasion.

The Attack at the End of the Paper, upon a Gentleman much esteem'd in his Profession, and whose Good-breeding is equal to his good Sense, and other great Qualifications, seems to be a Key to the Whole; and shews, that tho' the Introduction be general, the Paper was really intended to injure him; and hence it is, that most national Reflections arise. An angry Man, because he has taken offence at one of another Country, shews his Vengeance

Vengeance to the whole Nation; and in consequence of his being out of Humour with a single Person who came out of *Scotland*, would give up the People of *Scotland* to Destruction; and in order thereto, endeavours to spread his Spirit of Rancour thro' the Mass of his Countrymen. Very just, very reasonable, and very worthy of a *British* Spirit, truly! More especially if it be consider'd, that this is said at a Time when a Rebellion is but just suppressed in *Scotland*, that was raised by a Suggestion, that these very Principles that this Writer endeavours to propagate, prevailed generally thro' *South Britain*. A Person who, from Envy, Malice, or prompted by Interest, assassinate a Man, is allowed to be guilty of one of the foulest Crimes possible; and yet what is his Crime in Comparison of that Man's,

C

who

who because he dislikes, with or without Reason, a single Person of a whole Nation, would sacrifice that whole Nation and the Peace of his own too, to the Gratification of this ill-timed, and unbounded Resentment? Such is the Spirit of that Paper to which we owe a Dispute, from whence the worst Consequences are to be apprehended.

From what has been already said, it will sufficiently appear, that I am very far from countenancing the Sentiments of the Letter-Writer, or from being an Enemy to the People against whom his Satire is discharged ; but for all this I cannot help disliking in as great a Degree, the Answer that has been given to that Letter. The Author of that warm Discourse is very angry with the Coarseness of his Opponent's Writing ; and yet his own is to the  
 1 full

full as coarse. In one respect he very much outdoes him ; for whereas the Letter-Writer abuses only one *Scotsman* particularly, and was so far in the right, that this was a *Scotsman*, the Answerer abuses three *Englishmen*, without giving the least Reason why all, or any of them, should incur his Displeasure. As to the Peer, it is most certain, that he has shewn upon all Occasions, as great a Regard to the People of *North Britain*, as any Man of his Rank could do ; and on a very late, and very particular Occasion, shewed such a Zeal for strict Justice, in regard to a *Scot*, and none of the best Characters, that ought certainly to be remembered with more Gratitude, and good Manners. The Lawyer is aspersed with as little Reason : For to suppose him jealous of the Person abused in the Letter, is to



suppose him a very suspicious, and a very weak Man ; which is what the worst of his Enemies never durst represent him, for fear of being laughed at ; and as for the Office hinted at, I believe his aspiring to it is as far from the Truth, as it would be to say, he is not fit for it. The Prelate is himself a Northern Man, and, except his Zeal for the present Government, at a Time when the People were in Arms, and *Scotland* against it, never gave any Mark of Dislike to, or Aversion for them, or any other of his Majesty's Subjects. As for Narrowness of Mind, it is a very groundless Suggestion against all Three ; and I may venture to say, without any Danger either of being suspected of Flattery, or of offending against the Truth, that these three great Men are envied and hated by none but

narrow

narrow Spirits, who dread their Penetration, and are afraid of their Abilities. After all, I am sorry their Names have been dragged into this Dispute; and I heartily beg their Pardons, for having attempted an Apology for them.

The next thing that falls in this Writer's Way, is a very august Assembly, whom he treats with extraordinary Freedom, and this purely on the Credit of a Story told after common Fame, by his Antagonist, of some new Judges that are to be made for *Scotland*, and are likewise to sit in *Westminster - Hall*; which, for my Part, when I see, I shall believe; and till then, I see no Reason to attempt the refuting what at present seems to be a groundless Rumour; and I believe will never be found otherwise.

The Venality of *North* and *South Britons* are next compared, and all the old Reflections about obtaining the Union by Bribery are owned in respect to the former, in order to throw them in the Teeth of the latter. Here I think his Passion has hurried him out of the Path of Reason: For supposing the Fact to be true, that there was some pecuniary Influence made use of to bring about the Union, it proves nothing to the Prejudice of the *South Britons*, tho' it plainly fixes upon the *North Britons* Charges of Corruption. If, as this Writer all along supposes, the Union was beneficial to *South Britain*, they were very wise to purchase it; and if in *North Britain* there were Men who could be brought into it no other Way than that which this Writer mentions, it was certainly right

right to take that Way; for if they had this Spirit of *touching*, they would have *touched French Money*, if they had not touched ours; and by that means, have given their Neighbours in *South Britain* a great deal of Trouble; which if they avoided by an inconsiderable Expence, they certainly acted like prudent Men, and able Politicians; that is, they acted like what they were, and did the Nation's Business as well, and as cheap as they could.

But I have heard another Turn given to this Affair, and that some of the *Scots* Peers, who accepted of particular Favours upon that Occasion; did not look upon them as Bribes, but as Equivalents for what they were parting with for themselves and their Families. While *Scotland* remained a separate Kingdom, they had great Privi-

Privileges and Power, as Peers ; and when they were to part with these, which they considered as Things annexed to their Dignities, they thought themselves not in the wrong to make use of that Vice in Nature, to get something for them : I do not pretend to say, whether this was wrong or right ; I only say, that if it was wrong, it reflects upon none but them ; and if it was right, it reflects upon nobody. When the Crowns were united, every body knows a close Union was proposed, of which the *English* were not very fond, because they did not foresee the Advantages they should reap from it, or the Inconveniences they should avoid by it. But after the Revolution, both these became more apparent ; and therefore it is no Wonder, that the *English* Ministers changed their Minds.



I know very well, that the Ministers in *Scotland* found Ways and Means to procure the Royal Assent to Acts of Parliament, that made the Union necessary and unavoidable; and I know, that in consequence of these Acts, they set a higher Price upon it, and had it; for which I am so far from thinking they were to be blamed, that I think they were to be highly commended for it. They saw and knew, that an Union must some time or other be brought about; and in contriving to get the best Terms possible for their Country, when it was brought about, they did what became them: So that, considering the Whole of this Transaction, in a rational and political Light, neither Side was to blame: If the *English* lost one Opportunity, they were in the right to embrace another; and

as the Consent of the People of *Scotland* was necessary to an Union, they judged very wisely in giving their Consent, when such an Opportunity offered, as put it in their Power to obtain the best Terms that could possibly be had for consenting to it.

It was a Bargain of great Consequence to both Nations ; it was a Bargain by which both Nations were to be Gainers ; and in this Light it was the very last Bargain that was to be driven between them ; because they were for the future to become but One Nation. The great Point to be pursued afterwards, was to render that Bargain beneficial to this new and united Nation, by blotting out all former Resentments, and by becoming on both Sides what they undertook to become, One People. But it has unfortunately happened, that  
 some,

some, both in *South* and in *North Britain*, have forgot their Obligations in this respect, and upon the Face of the Thing, both deserve equal Blame; for at the bottom, both are Enemies to the United Nation; and which is the same thing, in other Words, both are Enemies to themselves, and false to their own Interest. The Union, whatever artful and designing Men may pretend, is equally necessary to one Part of the Island, and beneficial to the other. *Great Britain* is a far more formidable Power than the Crown of *England* was, and the Inhabitants of *North Britain* are in a Capacity of being much richer and happier than the People of *Scotland* ever were. If on both Sides this is not seen, it does not destroy the Truth of the Thing; and if any particular

D 2

Persons,

Persons, to serve their private Purposes, endeavour to set this Matter in a false Light, to the Inhabitants of either Part of the Island, it is acting a very bad Part, and deserves a harsher Name than I incline to give it.

But before I quit this Part of the Subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that those to whom both Parties give the worst Character, agree in desiring to see the Union dissolved; those among the *English* who wish to see the *Scots* treated as a vanquish'd People, and those amongst the *Scots* who have been lately in Arms against the Constitution. But the wiser and better Part of the Inhabitants of both Ends of the Island know their Happiness, and are content with their Condition.

As

As to what has happened since the Union, I am very much at a Loss to see what Ground there is for charging the *English* with want of Gratitude, Amity, Generosity, and friendly Dealing. There was a Suspicion, that some of the Nobility in *North Britain* were engaged in a Design to favour the *French* in the Invasion in 1708, and upon this Suspicion they were taken into Custody; but when no Rising happened in *Scotland*; in consequence of that Attempt, they were discharged. This I think was very fair and equal on both Sides; for on the one hand it shewed, that the People of *Scotland* were not so angry with the Union as they were represented to be; and when this was seen, they had all imaginable Justice done them. After the Change of the Ministry in the Queen's Time,  
there



there was a great Spirit raised against the *Scots*, upon the Supposition that they were generally Whigs; and those who lived at that Time cannot but remember, that there was then a great Talk of dissolving the Union. After the Accession of the late King, and before the People of *North Britain* had any Opportunity of being acquainted with this Government, a Rebellion was raised, and that Rebellion extended likewise into *England*. But that Part of the Nobility of *North Britain* that were look'd upon as Whigs in the Queen's Time, shewed themselves truly such upon that Occasion, and were very instrumental in quashing that Rebellion. What followed upon it was very equal, both with respect to the People of *South Britain* and of *North Britain*, that fell by the Hand of Justice; and

as far as we can decide by Events, it had a proper Effect in both Countries, and People became quickly satisfied with the new Government, much better satisfied than they would have been, if more rigorous Measures had been pursued, because they were convinced thereby, that the Monarch whom Providence set over them, was a Prince of great Lenity and Mercy.

I cannot imagine, why after going down as low as these Times, the Author of the Answer to the Letter in *Old England* carries us up again as high as the Reign of King *Charles* the First, and even higher : But let him carry us where he will, it will not make much for his Purpose. The Case of *Charles* the First does no great Honour to either Nation, but surely least to the People of *Scotland* : He was, as the Writer truly says, their  
natural

natural Prince, and they had great Obligations to him as such ; and yet they were the Authors of his Misfortunes, and those of his Family. It was the Nobility and Persons of Distinction that rebelled against him there, which, if they had not done, no Rebellion could have happened here. It was an Army commanded by some of the greatest Men in *Scotland*, that gave up that Prince to his *English* Enemies : The same thing cannot be said of those that put him to death here. The Behaviour of the *Scots* to *Charles* the Second was very strange : They executed the Marquis of *Montrose* in an ignominious manner, for fighting under his Commission, at the very time that they invited him thither, and offered to fight for him as their King, against the *English*. Better, most ceratinly,

it would be, if these Things were never remembred; but if they must be remembred, let us do Justice to both Sides. The *English* never acted so inconsistently; when they shed the Blood of their Nobility, they called themselves a Commonwealth; but when the *Scots* cut off *Montrose*, who was an Honour to their Country, they own'd the very Principle for which he fought; just as Duke *Hamilton* managed that Party that brought both Nations into Confusion, and the King to lose his Head: Yet when he saw that Event stare him in the Face, he took Arms to prevent it, to no Purpose, however, but the losing his own. If any Man can reconcile this to any Sort of Principles, or even to common Sense, *Erit mihi magnus APOLLO.*

As to the Fair-dealing and Generosity of Nations, I cannot well tell what is meant by these Expressions. Fair-dealing is the Interest of every Nation ; and I have never heard, that the People of *South Britain* were at all remarkable for playing fast and loose with their Contracts: But if they were so disposed, they have no Opportunity, with regard to the People of *North Britain*, since the Union settles their Pretensions, and while they have these, there can be no Pretence, or at least no just Pretence, that they are not fairly dealt with. Generosity, if I understand the Word right, implies something of Inferiority in the Party obliged, and unless I am much mistaken in my Notions of the People of *North Britain*, they would be very unwilling to confess such an Inferiority, in order to become the



Objects of the Generosity of their Neighbour. That, in point of Taxes, they have all the Favour shewn them that their Condition requires, or themselves can reasonably expect, is most certain. That upon Application to the Legislature, they have had great Indulgences given them with respect to their Trade and Manufacture, is also certain ; and that they are at Liberty to extend their Commerce, and to employ their Fortunes, when acquired, where and in what manner they think fit, cannot be denied. As to Lenity, the Infurrection at *Glasgow*, in relation to the Malt Tax, and the Affair of Captain *Porteous* at *Edinburgh*, are pretty strong Proofs, that no Handle is made even of their own Indiscretion, to their Prejudice ; for I believe there is nobody of Opinion, that if either of those Acts had been

committed in *England*, they would have been passed over more lightly, or the Persons concerned in them punish'd with less Severity. It is true, that we have long lived under a very mild and gentle Government, which has contributed to give us new Ideas of Things, and to induce us to look upon every thing as harsh and cruel, that has the least Appearance of an extraordinary Punishment : Yet if on the one hand we consider, that extraordinary Outrages upon the Laws must be repressed, in order to preserve to us the Benefits of those Laws, upon which the Security of this mild and gentle Government depends : And if on the other hand we look to what upon like Occasions has been done in past Times, we shall see abundant Reason to be satisfied with the Manner in which Things have been conducted,

ducted, and find that it is a great deal easier to throw out loose and general Complaints, than to support them by any Shadow of Proof, or Colour of Argument.

As to the Business of Religion, I am at a loss to find the least Ground for Expostulation on that Head: The Union left the Church of *Scotland* as it found it, only it added a farther Security, which has been inviolably adhered to; and as no Cause has been given to make any Alterations or Innovations, so none have been made; and of this the Church there have from time to time expressed the strongest Sense imaginable. That they have differ'd and divided among themselves, is their own Fault; and that those of the Episcopal Persuasion have drawn down the Hand of the Law, by an Abuse of the Tenderness

long

long shewn them, is what themselves cannot deny; nor can those of that Persuasion, who consider that every Government, as a Government, has a Right to defend itself, justly complain of any Steps that have been taken in regard to them. It is the Political Part of their Religion, not the Doctrinal, that has exposed them to the Weight of these new Laws, which, how burdensome soever they may seem, would scarce have been so light under any other Government than the present. Let them consider the Condition of the Protestants in *France*, who in their Political Creed differ nothing from the rest of their Countrymen, unless it may be in having firmer Principles of Obedience; and then let them consider their own, and the Provocations given for those Laws which they may think hard

In saying all this, I make Allowance for their Principles, which I suppose them to retain ; and I conceive, that even upon those Principles, if they examine Things calmly and coolly, they will not see any great Causes for Discontent, or be able to furnish any tolerable Reasons to support a Charge of Persecution and unchristian Severity, unless they take it for granted, that those who made these Laws were Hypocrites, and acted against their own Principles.

The Antiquity of the *Scots* Nobility is brought in by Head and Shoulders : I know nobody that contested it; nor any Use that can be made of it, when allowed : But I am amaz'd to find it so unjustly preferred to the *English*, because it may be very easily proved, from the *Scots* Writers themselves, that many of their best Families

lies



lies came out of *England*. As for Instance, the Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindsay* descended from a Lord *Lindsay*, who retired into *Scotland* in the Reign of *Malcolm Conmore*, beyond whose Reign few *Scots* Titles can be traced with any Certainty ; and he was contemporary with *William* the Conqueror. The Royal Family of *Bruce*, was originally *Norman*, then *English*, then *Scots* : So was *Baliol*, and so was *Hamilton*, and of a much more modern Date, than Numbers of the *English* Nobility. We might say the same of Multitudes of other Families, if it was to any Purpose. But the Antiquity of the *Scots* Nobility has been always allowed, and all Respect imaginable has been paid to it by the Union. It would be very happy for *North Britain*, if their Nobility would consider this, I mean in general,

general,

general, and form just Notions of the Dignity and Privileges, communicated to them, in Consideration of their Quality, and make use of the Means that are in their own Power, to maintain and support these with Lustre. It is certain that some of them, merely by living at home, and minding their Affairs, have been able in a great measure to restore Estates that were very much shattered by a different Conduct in their Affairs: And as a reasonable Degree of Property is a great Addition to Quality; so where this is once obtained, Men of Titles and Families find it very easy to extend and improve it. Neither is there any Cause to complain of general Disrespect in the People of *South Britain*, to Persons of great Quality coming out of the *North*, if we consider the Alliances they have made,

the Advantages derived to them by those Alliances, and the Consideration that is had for them in Sollicitations for Preferment. I do not say that there has been too much of this, or that they have been respected beyond their Deserts; but this I say, that, considering their present Situation, there is not the least Ground for throwing any Reproach upon the Inhabitants of *South Britain*, on the score of wanting Deference for *Scots* Quality.

The Compliments paid to the *North-British* Orators in our Courts of Justice, are certainly very much strained, and indeed are against all the Rules of Justice and right Reason. What room is there to imagine, that Men who come to a Study under greater Difficulties than any of their Fellow Students, should infal-

libly

libly get the better of them, and reach the Post of Merit before them? Yet this is really the Case, in respect of such of that Nation, as addict themselves to the Study of the *English* Law. They have first the great Difficulty to struggle with acquiring the Language, which is very necessary to a Pleader, whose Discourses lose much of their Force, if they are not pronounced distinctly, with a proper Modulation of the Voice, and in a Tone pleasing to every Ear. This Difficulty of overcoming a bad Pronunciation, is greater than most People imagine; and yet it is not the greatest in point of Elocution; for a Man may much easier rid himself of the *Scottish* Accent, than of the *Scottish* Phrases; and those *Scotticisms* may be no great Blemishes, nay, in some Cases perhaps, Beauties, in pri-

vate and free Conversation : yet they are nevertheless barbarous in Harangues, in which it is impossible to make any Abatement with regard to Purity of Language. But still this is not all ; a Man may speak *English*, and use *English* Phrases, without being an *English* Orator. There go to that, in point of Language only, many other necessary Qualifications : In the first place, a great Readiness in speaking ; in the next, a happy Choice of Words ; and, lastly, a Correctness in Diction ; the Charms of which are felt by all, tho' very few can tell exactly whence they arise. But, suppose a Native of *North Britain*, able by dint of Study and Practice (and yet I very much doubt, whether the Qualifications before-mentioned can be acquired by both) ; but suppose, I say, a Native of *North Britain* should  
be



be able to reach them, he will still find great Difficulties in the very Road of the Science, to which a Native of *South Britain* is entirely a Stranger; and the better his Education has been, the greater those Difficulties will be: For suppose he has a Tincture of the Civil Law, instead of helping, this will hinder his conceiving the Principles of the *English* Jurisprudence. I do not say, that the Civil and Common Law are incompatible, or that it is impossible for a Man to be perfect Master of both; for we have many Instances to the contrary; and to name but two, *Spelman* and *Selden*: But in this Case the Common Law must be first acquired, and the Knowledge of the *Roman* Institutions added in a maturer State of Life, when a Man is more in a Condition to compare and judge of Things,

Things, than when he is forming his Mind, and laying in his first Stock of Knowledge. I might add to these, several other Considerations; but from what has been already said, every proper Judge of the Subject will plainly see, that supposing equal Parts and Capacity) and more than equal, I suppose will not be contended for); a *North British* Orator will have a very hard Task to set himself in the earlier Part of Life upon a Level with his *English* Contemporaries, and a very indifferent Chance for surpassing them: So that all Apprehensions of seeing the Bar over-run by *Scotsmen*, are very chimerical; and the Dread of seeing them advanced to the highest Posts in the Profession, much more so.

Envy is a mean and base Vice, and so is Flattery; I cannot therefore

fore believe, that there are many *South Britons* tainted with the former; and I can suspect fewer of them inclined to the latter, in favour of those that come from the opposite End of the Island. For these Reasons, my firm Opinion is, that but a very few of the Profession are really jealous even of that Gentleman's Abilities, which seem to have given Birth to this Dispute, and which, in that Light, do him great Honour; though even this is a painful Pre-eminence, and must probably give him Sensations of Grief, mix'd with Pleasure. Those who pretend to think in Earnest, that the few *Scots* Pleaders we have, stand possessed of superior Advantages, will have much to do to persuade other Folks, that they are in Earnest, and that they really mean as they speak. But supposing  
this

this to be a Fact, the Prejudices or Prepossessions of a handful of fanciful People, will go but a very little way in altering the Sentiments of a whole Nation, or in establishing an Opinion, as contrary to the general Bent of Mankind, as perhaps it is to Truth. For my own Part, I must confess, that if I did not very well know Dissimulation is very seldom to be numbred amongst the Vices of *South Britain*, I should be inclined to suspect, that such as are fond of professing a real Belief of this Superiority, intend more Harm than Good to those they commend; and are their most dangerous, by being their most disguised, *Enemies*: For it was very finely said, by a Poet who is believed never to have written another good Line, that,

*Praise undeserv'd, is Satire in Disguise*

But

But there has been enough said to free the impartial and judicious Reader from any sort of Doubts, as to several Points advanced in these Pamphlets, to serve different Purposes ; and it has been sufficiently shewn, that tho' opposite Writers cannot be both in the right, yet it is not impossible that both may be in the wrong. We will come now to Things of greater Moment, and endeavour, with Truth and Impartiality, to state the relative Duties of both Countries, in order to shew, that the Union is an equal Blessing to both, and that the dissolving it would be attended with great Mischief, and not so much as a single good Consequence to either. By this means it is not impossible, that we may bring Good out of Evil, and suggest such Hints to the well disposed in *South* and *North Britain*, as may

G

operate



operate towards the re-establishing that Kindness and Friendship which so happily subsisted before the late Rebellion. The common Opinion is, that Interest goes farther with the present Age than any other Motive; and in regard to political Considerations, it is reasonable it should do so; and therefore I lay it down plainly and avowedly, as the Principle upon which I proceed, that it is the Interest of the Inhabitants of *South* and *North Britain*, to banish all Feuds, Jealousies, Heartburnings, and Prejudice, in order to adopt a true national Spirit, without any Distinction (beyond what is requisite from the Nature of Things) as to which End of the Island they inhabit; because such a Spirit is absolutely necessary, to promote the Welfare of the Whole, and thereby secure all possible Advantages,

vantages, with respect to every Part of our Country ; and will infallibly render the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* powerful, and respected abroad, as well as free, opulent, and content, at home ; which is what would give our faithful Allies the highest Satisfaction, and take from our antient, hereditary, and inveterate Enemies, all Hopes of succeeding in their Designs.

To begin, then, with the Inhabitants of *North Britain*, If there are any amongst them who are really angry with the Union, it must proceed either from a Notion that the dissolving it would contribute to the Change of Government they wish for ; which proves it to be a good thing ; or from their not understanding it perfectly ; or lastly, from their preferring their private or particular In-

terests to the common Safety, and publick Good. In regard to Government, the People of that Country are much easier, much safer, and much happier than they ever were before or after the Accession of their Kings to the Crown of *England*: For look into their antient Historians, such as *Fordun, Major, Boetius, Lesly, or Buchanan*, and you will find them in perpetual Tumults, Insurrections, Plots or Conspiracies; and this in all Reigns indifferently, from the Power of their Grandees and their Credit with, or Influence over the People. As for what has passed in later Times, examine *Spotswood, Melvin, Drummond, Burnet*, and *Welwood*, you will see in them, that every new Sessions of Parliament was attended with a Charge of Ministry and System; so that the Kingdom was kept in a continual

Hurry

Hurry, and the People were more concerned who governed them, than how they were governed. But since the Union, Things have taken another Turn, and the Inhabitants of *Scotland* have enjoyed Peace and Protection, which are the great Ends of Government, for many Years together; the Laws have been supported, the Access to the Throne and to the Legislature has been always open; there has never appeared any Inclination to encroach upon their Liberties, or to distress them in any manner whatever. If in some particular Points, and those too of no great Importance, the Case has varied, it was amongst themselves; their Oppressors did it by a Power not derived from the Law; and they might at any time have been relieved, if from their superstitious Regard to old Customs they

they had not been restrained from complaining. But however, since the Union Feuds have been in a great measure dropt, the Tyranny of their great Men has been circumscribed within very narrow Bounds : And tho' from the natural Spirit of the People, Factions have not been wanting; yet these Factions wanted a Power of doing Mischief, which they had, and exerted with a Vengeance, in former times; so that if the living under a settled, mild, and benificent Government, be a Blessing, it is a Blessing those People have enjoyed, or might have enjoyed; a Blessing derived to them by the Union : For as their own general Histories and private Memoirs plainly shew, it was what they never enjoyed, nor of which indeed they had scarce a Notion till that took Place. I do not say this



from a Spirit of Rancour, but merely out of a Regard to Truth; and I am fully persuaded, that the wisest and most knowing Men of that Country, after calmly considering what I have advanced, will readily admit that the Thing is so, and that in this respect they never had any just Reason to wish the Union dissolved.

If from the Administration of Civil Affairs we turn to those of the Church, we shall find, that the Union has been no less beneficial to them in that Respect; for their Religion has remained in a settled Condition, and has always received such Assistance from the Government, as was necessary to support and defend it; and yet no Countenance was ever given to a Spirit of Persecution; but the Way of Moderation was that which recommended the Clergy to  
the

the Crown, whereby the Peace of the Country has been maintained, and the Credit of the Church of *Scotland* carried higher than it ever was. To be convinced of this, we need only look into their ecclesiastical Historians, such as *Knox*, *Calderwood*, *Petrie*, *Woodrow*, and *Keith*. Whoever consults these Volumes, will see, that never any Nation in the World suffered more than this has done by religious Dissentions in former Times, when the Worship of God was almost continually made a Pretence, for the Disturbance and Destruction of Men; and the Government had more to do to regulate the Conduct of the Clergy, and to keep the different Sects in some Degree of Order, than with all other Affairs put together; whereas since the Union, there has scarce been any Trouble upon this Account;

count; and what religious Differences have arisen, either from Pride, Peavishness, or Enthusiasm, after spending themselves in Field-preaching and Writing, have sunk by degrees, without producing any Noise or Confusion worth speaking of, or at least nothing in Comparison of what they did heretofore, even under the best Reigns and gentlest Administrations. How great an Advantage this has been to the Inhabitants of that Country; how far it has conduced to extinguish those Heartburnings and Animosities which kept one Part of the People in a continual State of Opposition and Hatred to the other, is what may be more easily conceived, than explained. How far it has contributed to the promoting the Protestant Religion, and spreading a sociable, charitable Disposition thro' all

Ranks and Degrees of People, I leave any reasonable Man to judge, after making the necessary Inquiries among those who are best acquainted with the general State of the Country, and the great Effects which have been produced by the Schools that have been erected, even in the most distant Parts, and for the Support of which, great Collections have been made in *South Britain*.

In respect to the Administration of Justice, the greatest Care was taken to make the Inhabitants of *North Britain* perfectly easy, by the Provision made for it by the Union, which secured to them the Possession of their old Laws, to be administered by their own Judges, in the same Manner as before, and under such Restrictions as left it not in the Power either of the Crown or its Ministers, to give them



them the least Trouble or Disturbance; neither have they ever had any Occasion to complain on this head, their Benches having been filled with the most eminent Advocates at their Bar, who whenever they have had occasion to come into *England*, on the score of the last Resort of Justice in Parliament, have been treated here not only with the greatest Candour and Civility, but with all the Marks of Respect and Esteem possible. It is true, that since the Union, Appeals have been frequent; but this has been so far from tending to the Prejudice of the Inhabitants of *North Britain*, that it has been, as indeed from its Nature it must be, of the highest Benefit: For in the first place, it serves as a Check upon the Courts Below, and obliges them not only to act with Justice and Impartiality,



but with the utmost Care and Circumspcction. In the sccond place, it is a voluntary Act of the Parties, who if they desire to be bound by the Decisions of their own Judges at home, are not at all compelled to resort hither for the Revision of their Sentences, in any Case whatever : And lastly, it appears plainly by the Frequency and Increase of Appeals, that the People of *North Britain* really consider it in the same Light that I do, and are fully satisfied, that this Method is no Grievance, nor even a nominal, but a solid and real Advantage. By the way I cannot help observing, that hitherto the learned Lawyers of *North Britain* have had no Opportunity of returning the Compliments that have been paid to their Countrymen, who have applied themselves to this Profession here, since as  
far

far as I have been informed, there has been no Instance of any *Englishman's* entering on the Study of the Law, and making a Figure as a Pleader, before the Court of Session; and yet I am persuaded, that such a Person would find fewer Difficulties in his way, and consequently would be sooner able to distinguish himself at their Bar, than any *Scotsman* can do here; and I do not doubt, whenever the Case shall happen, that the utmost Regard will be shewn, and the greatest Deference paid to the Merit of such a Pleader: For notwithstanding what has been said of the narrow, national Temper of the *Scots*, I never heard they were slow in doing Justice to the Worth of a Stranger of any learned Profession that came among them.

The free Intercourse with *South Britain* is another happy Consequence of the Union, or rather is a Consequence big with many happy Circumstances to the Advantage of the People of *North Britain*. It is very true, that from the Junction of the two Crowns such an Intercourse generally subsisted, but was not however so established as to give either Nation any Assurance it should always last. On the contrary, whenever Schemes of the respective Ministries clashed, and Projects of overturning Government upon Principles of Civil or Religious Patriotism prevailed in either Kingdom, this Intercourse was interrupted, and the two Nations alarmed and heated to a Degree of Madness, though at the same time the People had no real or just Cause of Complaint against each other,

other, but were merely Tools in the Hands of their discontented Leaders, appearing now in one Form, then in another, hardly ever in their own. Thus in the Reign of *Charles I.* the *Scots* Four times entered *England*, in the Cause of Presbytery, and of those who opposed the Prerogative; and yet, in *Charles II.* Time, a standing Army was kept up in *Scotland*, in support of the Prerogative: And it clearly appears, from the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* famous Speech, *Of our little Sister who had no Breasts*, that this Situation of Things in *Scotland* had a great Effect upon the *English*. So lately almost as the Union itself, the two Kingdoms were plunged in the same Difficulties: Prohibitions, and other Acts of Rancour and Violence, were talk'd of, and some practis'd on both Sides; and, when

we



we were involved in a tedious and expensive War on the Continent, in Compliance with the Schemes of one Set of Ministers, we were very near engaging in a Civil War at Home, in consequence of the dark Designs of another. But, by the Union, all Dangers, and all Difficulties, of this Sort, are taken away, and taken away for ever. The People of *North-Britain* are, at all times, at Liberty to bring in their Cattle, and what other Commodities they have of their own, without Trouble, and without Burden ; which alone has changed the Face of the Frontiers, and made those Lands, which heretofore were scarce salable at all, the most valuable in that Country. By the Benefits derived from this stable Intercourse, the People of *Scotland* have been enabled to succeed in many Manufactures, which



which they had, formerly, in vain attempted, and some they have since learned, and practised; that, before this Intercourse, they never thought of; which, from their Vicinity to *England*, they are capable of carrying on with Profit; and which, if this Intercourse were interrupted, they must be immediately forced to lay aside.

By the Intercourse mentioned in the last Paragraph, I would be understood, of the Communication, by Land, between the two Nations: But tho' the Benefits resulting from this, to the People of *North Britain*, are incomparably greater than can be conceived by any who are not perfectly acquainted with the Nature of the Thing, and with the Number of Persons it employs; yet it is, in a manner, nothing, when compared to

I

the

the general Commerce of the *North* Part of *Britain* with the *South*, which, before the Union, was a very inconsiderable Thing : But we have not only many Vessels in a Year from *Leith* and *Glasgow*, but from almost every Port, even those situated in the most *Northern* Parts of that Country. It is very true, that the *Scots*, sometimes, pretend to doubt whether they are Gainers, by that Commerce, or not ; since what they derive from *England*, consists chiefly in Articles of Luxury ; which, however, is a weak and foolish Notion, both there, and every-where else ; for Luxury is an indeterminate Expression, and implies a different Thing, in the Mouth of every Man that uses it. But if the *Scots*, which is the fair Way of stating it, have increased the Number of Articles, which

which they conceive to be the Conveniencies of Life, and are furnished with many of these from *England*, they must then purchase them some-way or other ; they must increase their Manufactures, send out more of their Commodities, find some Way of remitting hither the Balance of their foreign Trade ; or, in some manner or other, give us Satisfaction ; and, if they do this, it is most certain both they as well as we are Gainers. But it is very evident, that a great Part of this Commerce is owing to their being at Liberty to share in the *English* Trade by virtue of the Union ; and therefore, if they annually take off four or five times the Quantity of *English* Goods which they did formerly, they are enabled so to do by the Advantages they have gained in Trade ; and consequently are, in

every respect, the better for it ; which is likewise discernible by many, and those infallible Marks ; such as the flourishing of their Sea-port Towns, the augmenting the Number of their Traders, and the Increase of their Shipping : And as all these Advantages increase in Time, we have some Reason to believe, by the Close of the present Century, the trading Inhabitants of *Scotland* will make quite another Figure than they do at present, which will be wholly owing to their Participation in our Trade ; and yet, in all Probability, this (in respect to us) has been increased by it too.

We must, before we quit this Subject, say a Word or two of the Plantations, which are another vast Acquisition the *Scots* have made by the Union : And I believe it may be truly said, that the Trade between  
*North*



*North Britain*, and the Plantations, is greatly more considerable than the whole Commerce of *Scotland*, while it remained a separate Kingdom. But this is not all ; there are vast Numbers of *North Britons* settled in all our Plantations ; it is believed, that they make near one Half of the People of *Virginia* ; and I have been told, that two-fifths of the white People in *Jamaica* are of that Nation, where it is certain that many of them have made large Fortunes, and then returned to settle in some Part of this Island. Upon the Whole therefore, those *North Britons*, who talk of being set down where they were taken up, of being restored to their antient Privileges, to their Parliaments, and to the Rights of a separate Government, either are not in earnest, or do not understand the Interest of their own Country ;



Country ; which those undoubtedly least do, that have spent most of their Time here ; for they fancy, that a Parliament of *Scotland* would resemble a Parliament of *Great Britain*, which it never did nor can ; and was no better than a Theatre of Faction, where much was done to serve private Interest, and little or nothing for the Benefit of the Public ; which was the true Reason of the Poverty of the People, and of their being in no Condition to support that Independency, of which some of them are, or affect to be, so fond.

It is a saying of Mr. *Houghton*, the Author of the Papers upon Husbandry and Trade, That the most beneficial Treaty, that could possibly be made for us, would be a triple League between *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* ; and this Observation

he repeats more than once. It is indeed a very just, and a very weighty Remark ; to which if our Statesmen would constantly attend, they might save themselves the Trouble of all other Leagues and Treaties. I do not mean by this, that we might despise and maltreat other Nations ; but that we might be in a Condition to look upon them without Terror ; and never apprehend either our Commerce, or our Liberty, capable of being affected by their Frowns, or Favour. These three Nations, in point of Situation, Produce, and convenient Ports, have undoubtedly all the Materials requisite to establish an independent, tho' not an universal Monarchy. It is our Want of Harmony, our Want of Attention, and above all, our Want of public Spirit, that hinder us from being the first People in  
the

the Universe. Our Want of Harmony is apparent, in keeping up the Distinction of three Nations, when it is visibly our Interest to destroy those Distinctions, that all may unite in promoting the common Good. Our Want of Attention is as evident by suffering the *French* to have an Interest in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which flows from nothing else ; and our Want of public Spirit is conspicuous in the Pains taken to keep alive Party-Quarrels, and national Prejudices, to serve the Purposes of wicked Men, who make Tools of their Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects, to gratify their own Pride and Ambition at the Expence of the Community. These are Errors inexcusable, in all the Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain* ; but most of all so in the *English*, who are sure to be the greatest Gainers by promoting

promoting Unanimity ; and who are foolishly jealous of the Trade of *Scotland*, tho' their own is promoted by them, and the Wealth acquired by the Inhabitants of both Countries is sure to centre with them.

The Union of *Scotland* cannot be denied to be an *English* Measure : It was the Project of the wise Treasurer, *Godolphin* ; and it was the wisest Project he ever thought of ; for it secured the Dependency of *Scotland* upon *England*, which was in the utmost Danger of being lost ; the *Scots* having it in their Power to have named their own Successor ; and consequently, the *Hanover* Succession is established by, and depends upon, the Act of Union, with respect to that Kingdom. The Advantages granted to the Inhabitants of *North Britain*, in virtue of the Union, are as incon-

K
testable,

testable, as that it was an *English* Measure : And as it was concerted, and carried into Execution, by a very wise, and upright Ministry, we may rest satisfied, that they did not grant those People such and so great Benefits, without a Foresight of reciprocal Advantages. The Use I would make of this is, to shew that it is equally unjust and unreasonable for the Inhabitants of *South Britain* to repine at, or clamour against, the Union ; since it was their own Act and Deed ; their own seeking, and their own procuring : If therefore it be not advantageous to them, it is their own Fault, and they have nobody to thank but themselves : if, on the other hand, it be advantageous, as most certainly it is, then they repine and clamour without a Cause ; or at least without any Cause



Cause that a great and wise Nation would avow ; viz. Because, while they are the better for it, others are the better for it also : Besides, the Contract is irrevocable ; by which I mean, it is impossible to put the Nations in the same State in which they were ; it would create endless and irremediable Disorders : And, at the same time, there is not the least Necessity for it ; since, if, among many good Consequences, some that are not so, have attended the Union, which were not foreseen at the Time of making it, the Parliament of *Great Britain* at any time, may rectify these ; which would be both a shorter and a better Method than repining at, or complaining of them. These are plain and self-evident Truths, which it is impossible for any Man of common Sense to doubt of or deny ; and therefore

we may judge what Sort of Men they are who either clamour or repine.

But it may be said, that if the Advantages resulting to *South Britain*, from the Union, are so many, and so great, it is very easy to mention them : And so indeed it is. In the first Place, we have gained a great Country, and a great Number of Subjects. This we had often attempted by Force of Arms, and never could accomplish ; but, if we had, a Conquest would not have been so advantageous to us, for many Reasons ; for then we might justly have feared all Improvements in *Scotland*, as tending to put it in the Power of the Inhabitants to revolt ; whereas, in the present Case, it is against their Interest ; neither have we seen any attempt it, but such as have not hitherto reaped the Advantages of the Union in point

of Government or Commerce ; and who were as troublesome, when a separate Monarchy, to their own Princes, as ever they have been to the united Kingdom. If an Accession of Subjects be no Advantage, then all the great Writers, on the Art of Government, are mistaken ; and all our Laws for naturalizing Foreigners are weak and foolish. We likewise secured our Frontier, on that Side ; which cost us both Trouble and Expence to defend ; and we took from our Capital Enemies the *French*, the most useful Allies to them, because the most dangerous to us. If we desire still farther Satisfaction upon this Head, we may have recourse to the Treaties made between *France* and *Scotland*, on the Marriage of *Francis*, the Second with Queen *Mary* ; the Reasons assigned by *Henry* the Seventh

for marrying his Daughter to King *James* ; and the Offers made by *Henry* the Eighth, when he proposed the Marriage of his Son *Edward* with the Heirefs of that Kingdom. But the Thing speaks itself : The Figure that *Great Britain* makes in *Europe* sufficiently shews it ; and if the Spirit of the Union prevailed as thoroughly as the Letter has done, we should have still better Arguments to offer upon this Subject ; but these we must leave to our Posterity, who no doubt will, in this respect, have good Cause to wonder at their Forefathers Blindness ; for, whenever our foolish Disputes are worn out, there is no Doubt, the *British Nation* will be far more formidable than she is at present.

The best Method, however, that can be thought of, for settling the Minds of People in this Age, upon

the Subject before us, is to consider the several Topics of Complaint ; and how far they are, or are not, well founded. In the first Place we are told, that *North Britain* is a poor Country : This, however, we knew before the Union ; and therefore we had no Reason to complain of that now : And, besides, it is a very high Reproach upon us, that it is poor ; for no Country can be so, that produces any thing, under a good Government. Some amongst us, call it wild, bleak, barren, without considering how many great Nations lie to the *North of Scotland*, and consequently in Countries more bleak and barren than it. But the Truth is, we are very little acquainted with the Country, tho' we have been Masters of it so long ; we neither know, nor care to know, what the Condition  
of



of it is, or how it may be improved; and the Effects of this Carelessness in ourselves we throw upon the Country. We carry on a great Trade to *Copenhagen, Stockholm, Petersburgh*, and to *Archangel*; We had formerly all, and we have still some, Commerce with *Iceland*: We sometimes fit out Ships for the Whale-Fishery: And we have Factories, tho' no Colonies, in *Hudson's Bay*: Why then should we imagine so despicable, a Place which lies in a far milder Climate, and may therefore be supposed as well worth visiting? At least, it might be made so; and we, who value ourselves so much upon making even the worst Countries, turn to Account, when in our Hands, should be ashamed to confess, that *North Britain* is still, at least a great Part of it, in as bad a Condition as before the Union; which

which we have never improved, or indeed so much as attempted it ; tho', with respect to Timber, or Naval Stores, we might perhaps fetch them from thence with full as little Trouble, and certainly at a less Expence, than from *Norway, Sweden, or Russia*. The Poverty of *Scotland* therefore is a Topic beneath a sensible or a well-bred Man to insist upon ; for, if that be sufficient to run down a Country, it may be very possible to shew him as bad Land, within forty Miles of *London*, as any he can shew in *Scotland* ; and yet, the Inhabitants are not thought at all the worse for it.

What serves to render these Reproaches the more barbarous and unjust, and, at the same time, more absurd and ridiculous, is the Certainty we have, that the Poverty of *Scotland*

really arises from no other Cause than the not taking due Care of it. The Linen Manufacture is now, in some measure, encouraged ; and this Encouragement shews us, what might be done, if public Spirit prevailed in this Island. If we had undertaken to promote this Manufacture, immediately after the Union, forty Years would have made a wide Difference in the State of it ; and we should, by this time, have been able to have furnished our Plantations entirely from thence ; which would have been much more beneficial to us than purchasing the same Goods in *Germany* and *Holland*. The Mines in *Scotland* are very valuable, and there are of all Kinds ; which, with the Assistance of the Public in making proper Roads, and rendering Creeks and Ports more commodious, would produce

duce vast Advantages to *Great Britain*. We may add to these, the most valuable Fishery in the World, if we may give Credit to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and other unprejudiced Writers. The Inhabitants of *North Britain*, about the Year 1720, formed a very laudable Design for improving this Fishery, in which Persons of all Ranks and Conditions were concerned; but, upon Application for a Charter, it seems one of our '*Change-Alley* Bubbles had been beforehand with them; a legal Authority was refused, and for want of it the Company immediately dissolved; which was not only a present Loss to the Persons concerned, but a national Discouragement for the future, so much the more to be regretted, because if that Design had taken place, and the Company, as it was proposed, had erected Magazines in the Western and

Northern Islands, and had a small Squadron of armed Vessels to cover and protect their Trade, the late Rebellion could never have happened; and in all Probability the Inhabitants of the Western Highlands by this time had been so well reconciled to our Maxims and Government, that we should have stood in no need of regular Troops to keep them in Obedience; and, after all, perhaps, this will be found the surest Method at last of reducing them, not to Slavery, but to Reason; not to a temporary Submission, but to a perpetual Subjection, by putting them into a better Condition than they were, and not leaving them in the worst of all Conditions, disarmed and disaffected. The former is unworthy of, the latter incompatible with, a State of Freedom.



The Complaints that are made of their over-running our Armies, Fleets, Plantations, and learned Professions, are in one Sense well-founded; for they shew, that the Union has in a great measure had its Effect; that is to say, it has mingled and incorporated the People; it has brought Multitudes into a Submission to, and Dependence upon, our Government; which is a thing of very great Consequence, and a very high Benefit, to this Nation. It is not pretended, that the Natives of *North Britain* behave ill in our Armies, or in our Fleets; and, if it was pretended, their general Reputation abroad would contradict that sufficiently: Besides, in the present Scrutiny into Officers Conduct, none of them have been blamed, which I suppose would scarce happen if they were blame worthy. Those that croud over  
to

to our Plantations do us more Service surely than if they were transported thither; and, considering how great a Part of our Trade depends at present upon the Plantations, and how much that Trade depends upon their being well peopled, he must have a very strange Head, who suspects the *Scots* of doing us Injury this way. In Law and Physic, some, and those no great Number, live here decently, and with Reputation; but as it is impossible for them to live here without spending what they get by us, I cannot discern why we should either envy or abuse them. The Children of *Germans, French, Dutch, Swiss*, and other foreign Parents, do the same thing, and we look upon it as an Advantage; and therefore nothing but Spleen and Ill-humour can engage us to consider the Success of our *North British* Countrymen

men in another Light. If they were of so selfish a Disposition as not to quit their own Country upon any Terms, we might suspect them of bad Designs, and of an Inclination to turn the Advantages they would even then have from the Union, upon those that granted them, which in Process of Time they might have in their Power; or if they were so invincibly disaffected as to refuse to serve us by Land or Sea, and at the same time went over to the *French* or *Spaniards*, we should then have just Cause of Umbrage; but to treat those who have behaved well to us, as bad Subjects, at the same time that we treat such as are Rebels, as Rebels deserve to be treated, must give that whole Nation a very bad Prospect, and afford us no very good one.

We must indeed allow, and the wiser Part of the People of *North Britain* will also allow it, that, considering the Situation we were in, this time Twelvemonth, there is no great Wonder to be made, that the common People express a good deal of Resentment against the *Scots* without Distinction. But when People who pretend to reason, and to write, adopt such Notions, it appears very strange : The exciting People to take from them the Privileges granted to them by the Union, is writing against Law, as well as against the Honour of the Nation, and against *something else* that I shall not name, because there is a certain Act of Parliament that makes that kind of *writing* High Treason ; and at the same time it is exciting the People of *North Britain* in general to Rebellion, by placing it in the Light of



Self-defence. Yet, after all, what Colour is there for all this? The Pretender's Manifestoes seem to be wrote in the Style of Papers that were not long ago fashionable in *South Britain*: ought we therefore to conclude, that those we styled lately *Patriots* were really *Jacobites*? Or, if we proceed from Words to Facts, will the Account stand any better? Was the Surrender of *Edinburgh* a Grain worse than that of *Carlisle*? or will any one say, that the Behaviour of *Glasgow* was not better than that at *Manchester*? that the Clergy of *North Britain* of the Church Established were not equally zealous with those of *South Britain* (and more they could not well be)? or that the *Argyleshire* Highlanders did not do as much Service as the *Yorkshire Hunters*? What Colour then for national Reflections? What Room



for stripping the People of *North Britain* of the Benefits of the Law, and of their Birthrights? what Justice in threatening them with Banishment or Starving?

The Inhabitants of that Part of the Island have smarted severely by this Calamity; and it has so happened, that the greatest Weight of Misfortune has fallen upon that very Part of their Country which was most disaffected, because least acquainted with our Laws and Government. Those People will not be in a Condition to stir for a long time; the rest of the *North Britons* will, from the Principles of Self-preservation, as well as from Interest and Duty, be ready to prevent any future Insurrections, that they may not have the Seat of War in their Neighbourhood. We have therefore all the Opportunities we can  
 I wish,

wish, of trying what Effects good Laws and good Usage will produce: We may, by Encouragement, induce the People to stay at home, and improve their own Country, instead of scattering themselves all the World over: We may render their Linen-Manufacture a thing of prodigious Consequence to them and to us: We may open Mines in all Parts of their Country, and by that means gain Access to and Intelligence from them: We may establish a Fishery, and by that means a naval Force upon its Coasts: So that at the same time we render the Country better, and the Inhabitants richer, we shall be ourselves more secure. To all this we may add, that, with a little Civility, and by using strict Justice towards such of the Nation as settle here, we shall, with the Help of their Resort to

Parliament, and necessary Calls into this Country, derive to ourselves whatever Wealth these People by their Industry can purchase. By pursuing these Measures, every Part of the Island may be rendered flourishing, and the People in general happy; whereas Jealousies, Heart-burnings, and Uneasinesses, cannot fail of producing contrary Effects, such as abating Industry, encouraging Faction, propagating Civil Dissention, and scattering the Seeds of future Civil Wars. The Choice of these is before us, and surely it requires no great Measure of Understanding, to determine what Choice we shall make.

*F I N I S.*